

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 NATO 03563

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, NATO, DPC
SUBJECT: DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING, MAY 17, 1977:
AGENDA ITEM III.A. - MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE 1977
SUMMARY: ON MAY 17 MINISTERS APPROVED 1977 MINISTERIAL
GUIDANCE (DPC/D(77)6), WITH DISCUSSION LIMITED TO
RESOURCE GUIDANCE (PARAGRAPH 42). SECRETARY BROWN
ARGUED STRONGLY FOR RETENTION OF 3 PERCENT REAL
ANNUAL INCREASE AND, IN VARIOUS DEGREES, WAS SUPPORTED
BY NORWAY, CANADA, BELGIUM, FRG, NETHERLANDS AND
LUXEMBOURG. MULLEY (UK), HOWEVER, PLEADING DOMESTIC
POLITICAL IMPERATIVES, URGED ADOPTION OF A COMPLICATED
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FORMULA THAT WOULD NOT COMMIT HIM TO ANY SPECIFIC LEVEL
BUT WAS WILLING TO AGREE TO AN "AIM" OF 3 PERCENT.
AFTER A PROTRACTED DISCUSSION, DURING WHICH VARIOUS
MODIFICATIONS WERE EXAMINED, MINISTERS FINALLY AGREED
TO ADOPTION OF A COMPROMISE TEXT, WHICH CALLS FOR AN
ANNUAL REAL INCREASE IN THE "REGION OF 3 PERCENT"
AS AN AIM, QUALIFIED BY ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES,

AND WITH SPECIFIC FIGURES FOR EACH COUNTRY TO BE DETERMINED DURING THE DEFENSE PLANNING REVIEW.
END SUMMARY.

1. IN OPENING DISCUSSION ON 1977 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, SYG LUNS NOTED THAT THE 1976 DEFENSE REVIEW SHOWED THE NEED TO PROVIDE FOR REAL INCREASES IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. LUNS NOTED THAT THE ONLY ISSUE REQUIRING MINISTERIAL ATTENTION WAS THAT OF RESOURCE GUIDANCE (PARA 42), AND TURNED TO MULLEY (UK) WHO HAD CIRCULATED AN ALTERNATIVE TEXT.

2. MULLEY SAID HE WAS PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY SECRETARY BROWN'S STATEMENT IN THE RESTRICTED SESSION (SEPTTEL) THAT INCREASES IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES HAVE BEEN ABSORBED BY INCREASED PERSONNEL COSTS AND PRICE LEVELS, AND AGREED THAT FULL COMPENSATION MUST BE MADE FOR THESE FACTORS. MULLEY REFERRED TO THE UK'S MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE AND ADDED THAT HE COULD NOT COMMIT HIMSELF TO ANY SPECIFIC RATE OF INCREASE, BUT WOULD HOPE TO MEET REAL INCREASES AS AN "AIM."

3. IN OPENING THE FLOOR TO COMMENT ON RESOURCE GUIDANCE, LUNS ASKED WHETHER THE UK TEXT FOUND FAVOR.

4. ZEINER GUNDERSEN (CMC) URGED ALLIES TO BE CONCRETE WHEN IT COMES TO RESOURCES. HE STATED THAT HE WAS NOT SURE OF THE EXACT FIGURE, BUT BELIEVED THAT THE ALLIANCE NEEDED A POSTIVE, REAL INCREASE.

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5. LEBER (FRG) EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT USING PERCENT OF GDP AS A MEASURE OF EFFORT, COMMENTING THAT THESE PERCENTAGES COULD BE INTERPRETED IN MANY DIFFERENT WAYS. WHAT SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE FORE, HE SAID, WAS FUNDING FOR MAJOR EQUIPMENT; HE PROPOSED THAT A CLAUSE TO THIS EFFECT BE ADDED TO THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 42.

6. SECRETARY BROWN NOTED THAT THE ISSUE OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURES WAS COVERED IN PARAGRAPH 43, AND CONSEQUENTLY, SUGGESTED THAT ANY AMENDMENT TO PARAGRAPH 42 SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH PARAGRAPH 43.

7. LEBER AGREED WITH SECRETARY BROWN AND, NOTING THAT AS LONG AS HIS IDEA WAS ALREADY CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 43, SAID HE WOULD DROP HIS PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO PARAGRAPH 42.

8. SPEAKING TO THE UK TEXT, SECRETARY BROWN SAID HE

WAS CONCERNED WITH THE POTENTIAL NEGATIVE IMPACT THIS FORMULATION COULD HAVE ON US DEFENSE EFFORTS:
(1) REGARDING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, SOME IN THE US MIGHT THINK THAT THE US SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM INCREASING ITS DEFENSE SPENDING BECAUSE OF AN ADVERSE ECONOMIC CONDITION WITH 7 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND A PROJECTED BUDGET DEFICIT FOR 1978 OF \$64 BILLION; (2) REGARDING FORCE CONTRIBUTIONS, AGAIN SOME IN THE US MIGHT THINK THE US CONTRIBUTION IS DISPROPORTIONATELY HIGH ALREADY; (3) AS TO GDP, THE US CONTRIBUTION IS WELL ABOVE AVERAGE, SO AGAIN THE US WOULD BE LET OFF THE HOOK;

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(4) REGARDING A SPECIAL EFFORT REQUIRED FROM COUNTRIES BELOW NATO AVERAGES, WHAT RATIONALE COULD HE PROVIDE FOR INCREASING THE US BUDGET SINCE THE US IS ALREADY ABOVE THOSE FIGURES. IN SHORT, HE COULD NOT TAKE THE UK FORMULATION BACK TO HIS COUNTRY AND, AT THE SAME TIME, PROPOSE TO THE US CONGRESS THAT THE US SHOULD

INCREASE ITS DEFENSE SPENDING; THE UK TEXT WOULD NOT BE SUPPORTIVE OF SUCH EFFORT.

9. SYG LUNS APPLAUDED THIS STRONG STATEMENT, COMMENTING THAT THE US CONGRESS MIGHT USE SUCH REASONING TO REDUCE US EFFORTS, AND ADDED THAT IF THE US COULD INVOKE THE ADVERSE ECONOMIC CONDITION CLAUSE, THEN ANY ALLY COULD. CONFIDENTIAL

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10. MULLEY STATED THAT THE US SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE PARLIAMENTARY PROBLEMS AND DIFFERING GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES. IN HIS SYSTEM, HE COULD NOT BE IN PUBLIC DISPUTATION WITH MEMBERS OF HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. "A MINISTER COMMITS THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT AND I CANNOT COMMIT MY GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT REAL INCREASES." HE COMMENTED THAT MINISTERS SHOULD TRY TO HELP THEIR COLLEAGUES RATHER THAN HARM THEM AND STATED THAT ALL THIS DISCUSSION OVER RESOURCES WOULD NOT ADD A SINGLE SOLDIER OR GUN TO NATO DEFENSE. IN RESPONSE, SYG LUNS STATED THAT THE PHRASE "SHOULD BE ADOPTED," WAS NOT A COMMITMENT, BUT RATHER AN AIM.

11. HANSEN (NORWAY) AGREED WITH LEBER THAT PERCENTAGE OF GDP IS NOT AN ADEQUATE MEASURE OF DEFENSE EFFORT. NORWAY, HE SAID, THOUGHT IN TERMS OF DEFENSE TO BE PRODUCED RATHER THAN PERCENTAGES. NONETHELESS, NORWAY COULD SUPPORT THE 3 PERCENT FORMULATION. SYG LUNS RESPONDED THAT PERCENTAGE OF GDP WAS NOT THE PERFECT MEASURE, BUT THE BEST AVAILABLE.

12. SECRETARY BROWN QUESTIONED WHAT PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED BY REFERRING TO LEVELS OF FORCE CONTRIBUTION AND PERCENT OF GDP DEVOTED TO DEFENSE, AND BY INFERENCE, EXCUSING THOSE COUNTRIES ABOVE THE AVERAGE. CONSEQUENTLY, HE PROPOSED DELETION OF THESE CRITERIA. REGARDING THE WORD "AIM" IN THE UK TEXT, HE SAID THIS WORD WAS TOO VAGUE AND SUGGESTED THE PHRASE "TO BE PLANNED FOR" INSTEAD. MULLEY SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL BUT WOULD AGREE TO DELETE REFERENCE TO CURRENT FORCE CONTRIBUTIONS AND LEVELS OF GDP.

13. VANDEN BOEYNANTS (BELGIUM) SAID THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION REFLECTED AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID SAYING CLEARLY WHAT ALL KNOW IS NEEDED. HE COULD AGREE WITH THE 3 PERCENT FORMULATION, NOTING THAT BELGIUM WAS ALREADY ABOVE THAT LEVEL. HOW-CONFIDENTIAL

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EVER, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BUDGETS WAS NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DEFENSE MINISTERS, BUT RATHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE, ONLY THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT COULD COMMIT THEIR COUNTRIES TO SPECIFIC LEVELS OF DEFENSE SPENDING.

14. SYG LUNS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MINISTERS COULD NOT COMMIT THEIR GOVERNMENTS. HE NOTED THAT WHEN HE RAISED THIS ISSUE IN LONDON, THE HEADS OF STATE ALSO SAID THAT THEY COULD NOT COMMIT THEIR GOVERNMENTS. SYG LUNS EXPRESSED HOPE THAT MINISTERS WOULD BE ABLE TO SET AN AIM SO THAT THEY COULD REPORT PROGRESS IN MEETING DEFENSE NEEDS AT NEXT SPRING'S WASHINGTON SUMMIT.

15. MOELLER (DENMARK), REFERRING TO THE NEW FOUR-YEAR DANISH DEFENSE AGREEMENT, COMMENTED THAT THIS AGREEMENT PLACED CONSTRAINTS ON DANISH DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. HE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE UK FORMULATION, COMMENTING THAT HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO WORK FOR A BETTER CONTRIBUTION IN THE FUTURE.

16. LEBER SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF RESOURCE GUIDANCE WAS PARAGRAPH 43, WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON EXPENDITURE FOR MAJOR EQUIPMENT. THE PRIMARY NEED WAS FOR NATIONS TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS SET FORTH IN THIS PARAGRAPH, WHICH WOULD PROBABLY REQUIRE ANNUAL REAL INCREASES OF 3 PERCENT. IF WE DO NOT USE A 3 PERCENT FIGURE, THERE IS ONE YARDSTICK LESS.

17. SYG LUNS COMMENTED ON THE GREAT VARIATIONS IN RELATIVE

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ALLIED EFFORT, RANGING FROM LUXEMBOURG'S 1 PERCENT OF GDP TO THE US 6 PERCENT. HE REITERATED THAT MINISTERS SHOULD NAME A PERCENTAGE OF REAL INCREASE AS A TARGET. MULLEY RESPONDED THAT THE PHRASE "CALLING FOR FULL COMPENSATION FOR INFLATION" COVERS THIS.

18. SECRETARY BROWN SUGGESTED THAT THE TEXT SHOULD CLEARLY NOTE THE NEED FOR REAL ANNUAL INCREASES AND THEN DEAL WITH THE PRECISE PERCENTAGE, COMMENTING THAT IF REAL INCREASES WERE NOT ADOPTED, THE CONTINUED DETERIORATION IN RELATIVE CAPABILITIES WOULD NOT BE AVOIDED. ACTION, NOT AN AIM, WAS NEEDED.

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19. MULLEY (UK) SAID THAT HE WAS BEING PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE, EVEN THOUGH THE UK WAS DEVOTING 5.1 PERCENT OF ITS GDP FOR DEFENSE; IF EVERYONE ELSE WAS DOING AS WELL, THE ALLIANCE WOULD BE IN MUCH BETTER SHAPE. "I FIND IT HARD," HE SAID, "BEING PUT IN THE DOG HOUSE IN VIEW OF THE UK EFFORT." IN ANY EVENT, HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT "POLITICAL SUICIDE" AND, RESPONDING TO A DEMURRER FROM LUNS, SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE THE SOLE JUDGE OF THE CARE AND FEEDING OF HIS POLITICAL LIFE. IN CONCLUSION, HE SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ADOPTION OF AN UNQUALIFIED REAL INCREASE FOR ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES.

20. LEBER (FRG) SAID THAT THERE WAS AN IMPLIED CRITICISM OF GERMANY IN MOD MULLEY'S ALLUSION TO GDP-DEFENSE EXPENDITURE LEVELS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. HE SAID THAT ANY SUCH CRITICISM WOULD HAVE TO BE QUALIFIED BY THE QUALITY OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF MEMBER NATIONS. "WE CAN MAKE OUR CONTRIBUTION WITH LESS BECAUSE WE DO NOT HAVE AN ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE; WE WOULD NEED MORE IF WE HAD SUCH A FORCE. BUT MORE MONEY IN THAT CONTEXT WOULD NOT INCREASE BY THE SLIGHTEST AMOUNT THE END-RESULT OF COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS." LUNS SAID THAT THE LINE SEEMED TO BE CLEARLY DRAWN, BUT MINISTERS MUST SOMEHOW FIND A WAY OUT OF THIS

DIFFICULTY. HE ALLUDED TO THE COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 1976, WHICH CALLED FOR REAL ANNUAL INCREASES AND SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO TAKE A WEAKER POSITION NOW, WHEN THE THREAT HAD INCREASED. HE THEREFORE SUGGESTED LANGUAGE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: REAL ANNUAL INCREASES IN THE REGION OF 3 PERCENT SHOULD BE AIMED AT BY ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES, WITH A SPECIAL EFFORT REQUIRED FROM THOSE BELOW NATO-EUROPE AVERAGES.

SECRETARY BROWN RESPONDED THAT HE COULD ACCEPT THE RE-FORMULATION BUT WOULD GREATLY PREFER TO LEAVE OUT THE LAST PART REFERRING TO "SPECIAL EFFORT" AND THE CRITERIA ENUMERATED. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, TO DEFER TO LUNS' JUDGMENT THAT RETENTION OF THOSE CRITERIA WAS IMPORTANT IN A CONFIDENTIAL

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EUROPEAN CONTEXT.

21. KIRCA (TURKEY) SAID THAT IN LIGHT OF THE CHANGES THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN AGREED TO IN PARAGRAPH 42, HE THOUGHT IT WAS NO LONGER APPROPRIATE TO LEAVE IN THE SENTENCE AT THE END OF PARAGRAPH 43. LUNS, ATTEMPTING TO DISSUADE KIRCA FROM THAT SUBJECT, CALLED ON THE DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER, WHO SUPPORTED SECRETARY BROWN'S REQUEST FOR DELETION OF THE "SPECIAL EFFORT" CRITERIA. STEMMERDINK SAID THE NETHERLANDS PLANNED ON REAL ANNUAL INCREASES OF AROUND 3 PCT A YEAR, AND THAT WAS ALL THAT HE COULD AGREE TO. HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO MAKE A "SPECIAL EFFORT" ABOVE THAT LEVEL. IN VIEW OF THE DUTCH ELECTIONS NEXT WEEK, HE WOULD HAVE TO INSIST ON DELETION OF THAT SECTION. MOD STEMMERDINK WAS QUICKLY SUPPORTED BY KRIEPS (LUXEMBOURG) AND MOLLER (DENMARK). IN VIEW OF WHAT LUNS TERMED A CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF DELETION, HE REGRETFULLY REMOVED THAT SECTION.

22. DANSON (CANADA) SAID THAT HE WAS INDIFFERENT TO THE LOSS OF "SPECIAL EFFORT," BUT COULD ACCEPT REAL ANNUAL INCREASES IN THE "REGION OF 3 PCT." FOR CLARIFICATION, HE ASKED SYG LUNS TO READ THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FOR 42 AS AGREED.

23. LUNS READ THE FOLLOWING AS THE AGREED TEXT, AFTER WHICH HE CLOSED DISCUSSION OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. BEGIN QUOTE:

-- 42. ACCORDINGLY, IF A CONTINUED DETERIORATION IN THE NATO-WARSAW PACT BALANCE IS TO BE AVOIDED, AN ANNUAL IN-

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CREASE IN REAL TERMS (I.E., AFTER FULL COMPENSATION FOR
THE INFLATIONARY IMPACT OF RISING PAY AND PRICE LEVELS)
SHOULD BE AIMED AT BY ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES. THIS ANNUAL
INCREASE SHOULD BE IN THE REGION OF 3 PCT, RECOGNIZING
THAT FOR SOME INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES:

- ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES WILL AFFECT WHAT CAN BE
ACHIEVED;
- PRESENT FORCE CONTRIBUTIONS MAY JUSTIFY A HIGHER
LEVEL OF INCREASE.
SPECIFIC TARGET FIGURES FOR EACH COUNTRY WILL NEED TO BE
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DETERMINED IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF THE DEFENSE PLANNING
REVIEW. END QUOTE. BENNETT

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